A Corn Mummy Decoded

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As part of the reinstallation of the Renaissance and Baroque galleries of the Walters Art Museum in fall 2005, one room was created in the style of a Northern European aristocrat’s chamber of wonders and another as his private study. The installation includes ancient Egyptian objects: bronze figures of deities, private sculpture, amulets, a Roman period female child mummy, and a “corn mummy” in a coffin with the head of a falcon.

MUMMIES, SPURIOUS MUMMIES, AND CORN MUMMIES

Egyptian artifacts, especially human and animal mummies, were popular elements in princely chambers of wonders during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but also in the more focused study collections of artists, scholars, and physicians. From the seventeenth century through the nineteenth century, Egyptian mummies were in great demand as exotica; in addition to genuine mummies, numerous spurious mummies came into collections. Not all, however, were contemporary products created for a credulous European market: spurious mummies were being produced centuries earlier by the Egyptians themselves. From the end of the Late Period through the Greco-Roman Period (ca. 380 B.C.–A.D. 395) donations of mummified sacred animals were a popular way of making merit. If the embalmers and priests did not have the requisite animal in stock, they often choose another and altered the exterior to simulate the appearance of the desired animal. Some “mummies” contained no body within the wrappings; they could nonetheless be magically transformed into “genuine” mummies through a ritual that secured the protection of the donor and ensured divine support.

Another kind of spurious mummy is the so-called corn mummy, also called “Osiris mummy” or “grain Osiris figurine.” All three terms describe a specific type of object: a three-dimensional humanlike figure, made from a mixture of mud, sand, or clay, and grain or seeds, and wrapped in linen bandages or a shroud. The figures were moistened in a special ritual so that the grain would germinate and ensure the renewal of nature and resurrection in the afterlife. Beginning in

Fig. 1. Vignettes on the front of the coffin of Djed-Bast-iu-ef-ankh, ca. 2nd century B.C., Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeusmuseum (inv. no. 1954)
the late Third Intermediate Period (the second half of the eighth century B.C.) a specific subcategory of corn mummies emerged: figures placed in hawk-headed coffins. After the figure had been formed, a coating of oils, resins, wax, and gum was applied to the bandages or cover shroud to more closely simulate a genuine mummy. Elements such as faces, hands, the Atef- or Hedjet-crown, the divine beard, or royal insignia modeled in beeswax (which could be painted or gilded)6 or, more rarely, in gold or silver,7 were often attached to the figure. Some examples have an attached phallus formed from the same components as the mummy figure. Many of the wooden hawk-headed coffins terminate in plinths so that figure could be displayed upright during the ritual; some are supported by a back pillar. Inscriptions or vignettes with representations of deities appear in some examples. The mummy figures were sometimes accompanied by small figurines of the four Sons of Horus, or alternatively, four small balls bearing the names or wax faces of these gods, as well as names of other protective deities.8 Scarabs and cobra serpents made of wax were also placed in the coffins.

Representations of and references to corn mummies have been found on coffins of genuine mummies (fig. 1), and the process of their manufacture during the Khoiak festival, as well as their subsequent burial, is described and depicted on temple walls.9 The most extensive information about the ritual comes from the two late Ptolemaic roof chapels of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera,10 as well as a shorter account in the Osiris chapel on the roof of the Temple of Isis at Philae.11

THE CORN MUMMY IN THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

The corn mummy displayed in Walters Art Museum's chamber of wonders is a long-term loan (IL.2004.13) to the museum from a private collection in Maryland. The present owner purchased it in 1996 in Washington, D.C., as part of an estate; the deceased former owner reported that her husband “had brought it back into the United States in the 1940s, after doing work in the country of Egypt.”12 The circumstances and exact place of the acquisition in Egypt, however, are unknown. It is difficult, moreover, to determine the place of the object’s manufacture due to a lack of comparable excavated material,13 and the closest parallels also lack excavation records. Given the lack of information about the work’s provenance, conclusions about the corn mummy’s authenticity, origin, dating, and meaning can be established only by detailed investigation of the object itself and related examples.
COMPOSITION, MANUFACTURE, AND CONDITION

The core of the Baltimore corn mummy (figs 2a, b) was formed of a mixture of clay, mud, and seeds and wrapped horizontally in linen bandages. Plant fibers were used to stabilize the face within the wrappings. A coating of oils, resins, wax, and gum was then applied to the entire figure. The figure's beeswax overlay (fig. 3) was formed in a mold, painted with blue and black pigment, and placed on the mummy. The height of the figure is 45 cm (equal to one small Egyptian cubit), the maximum width 13.5 cm, and the maximum depth 13.9 cm. The corn mummy itself is poorly preserved; most of the resinous coating is gone, as are portions of the beeswax attachments. The upper layers of the bandages have been partially removed, and the brittle coating is lost or shattered as a result (see fig. 4). Fragments of the coating are preserved on the chest and above the left shoulder; smaller fragments are visible between the remains of the wrapping underneath and beside the corn mummy in the coffin. The wax face-and-crown attachment has sustained damage, and later repairs are evident. The tip of the nose is crushed or deformed, and an irregular break runs horizontally across the face. The head of the Uranus-serpent, the two feathers that originally flanked the central part of the Atef-crown the beard, as well as parts of the jaw and neck, are broken off. Parts of the feathers and of the beard were found in the debris beside and above the head. Some unidentified forms, perhaps made of wax, remain in the wrappings. Traces of green pigment (malachite) have been found on the surface of the mask; it is therefore likely that the mask was originally painted green.

The Sons of Horus figures were molded from the same clay or mud mixture as the corn mummy and coated with wax (see fig. 5). Their height ranges between 4.5 and 5 cm. One of the four figures (probably the baboon-headed Hapi) that would have accompanied the corn mummy in its coffin is lost. The feet of the human-headed figure of Imseti were broken off and had migrated to another area of the coffin; a fine horizontal hairline crack in the wax coating extends over the upper section of the leg, and a small hole is visible in the center of the back. The jackal-headed figure of Dua-mut-ef has one repaired break through the waist and cracks in the associated wax coating; the tip of the left ear and the left part of the figure’s face, including the snout, are missing (fig. 5). The hawk-headed figure of Qebh-senu-ef, located beneath the corn mummy, was not removed from the coffin; an x-radiograph indicates that it is intact.
The case and lid of the coffin itself were carved out of a single piece of wood (possibly sycamore), smoothed, painted with black, yellow, and blue pigment, and gilded. The lid (fig. 6) and the case are held together and aligned by six matching rectangular mortises (three on each side) that are joined by wood strips (see figs. 2a, b). The dimensions of the coffin are length 49.5 cm, width 15.2 cm, and depth 15.2 cm. The mummy itself fits comfortably in the coffin, with a space of 1.3 cm around it. The lid of the coffin is in good condition; minor surface losses and abrasions are evident, as is a large crack in the bottom of the plinth and another small one on the right side. Part of the blue paint of the hawk’s mustachial band on the proper left cheek is lost, exposing the white ground. Minor losses have occurred in the black of the beak and the gilded face. Some dark spots are visible on the gilding in the outline around the beak, and the collar and borderlines of the upper wig are faded. It may have been a yellow or red (?) color (possibly orpiment).

The mummy figure and the coffin were evidently disturbed on several occasions. At an unknown date the coffin was opened and the coating, and parts of the wrappings and wax attachments were damaged or destroyed. Later, the damaged nose and the break across the figure’s wax face were repaired, as was the break in the figure of Dua-mut-ef. (This probably took place in the 1930s or 1940s before the sale of the object in Egypt.) In 2005, the wax fragments of the lower side of the jaw and neck, as well as a major part of the beard, were reattached in the conservation laboratory of the Walters Art Museum, and Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy and x-radiography analyses of the object were undertaken (fig. 7a). More recently a computed tomography scan was done in the Department of Diagnostic Radiology of the University of Maryland Department of Medicine (fig. 7b).

INTERPRETATION

1. Iconography, Colors, and Materials
The figure in the coffin represents a human mummy, with a conical extension on its head. The beeswax attachment forms the iconic elements of the head section: the human face, the white Atef-crown, with Uraeus-serpent and green plumes, and the divine beard. The beard and beard straps, the lids of the eyes, and the brows are accentuated
with green pigment; the pupils of the eyes are highlighted in black. It is not possible to determine whether there were additional attachments, such as hands bearing regalia. Nevertheless, the human, mummiform shape of the body, the Atef-crown, and the divine beard, as well as the green color, which symbolizes renewal and resurrection, clearly identify the figure as an image of the god Osiris.

The three surviving accompanying figurines of the Sons of Horus (see fig. 8) are identifiable by their heads. Each has a mummiform body, but Dua-mut-ef has a jackal head, Qebeh-senu-ef a hawk head (identifiable only on the x-radiograph above the mummy's right shoulder under a fragment of the resin layer [see fig. 7]), and Imseti, a human head; the ape-headed Hapi is missing. The disposition of the figures around the corn mummy is not original; it was disturbed when the mummification coating was removed to search the wrappings. The figures were probably arranged in pairs and placed according to the cardinal directions observed in Egyptian human burials: Imseti and Dua-mut-ef near the feet (east), Qebeh-senu-ef and Hapi near the head (west). The function of this group of divinities (known also as the Sons of Osiris) was to protect the body of the deceased Osiris and to assist in his resurrection, and as a consequence to care for the deceased. The close relation between the mummification ritual for the human deceased and the corn mummy ritual for Osiris as part of the divine Khoiak festival accounts for the association of these figures with the corn mummy.

The case and lid of the anthropomorphic coffin are black, as are the eyes and the beak of the hawk's head; the face is gilded, the outlines of the tripartite wig and the collar between the lappets are yellow (a substitution, probably as an economy, for gilding), and the mustachial/postocular stripe combinations on the hawk's cheeks are blue. The color black was associated with fertility and the resurrection of Osiris, as well as with magical power. Gold or yellow represents eternal divinity and imperishability, and blue both the heavens and the primaeval flood, and, by extension, life and rebirth. The design of the eight-row Wesekh-collar comprises four rows with dots, alternating with three rows in a zigzag motif, and at the bottom, a single row with a petal pattern. The collar's design may be more than simply decorative; the motifs may have associations with the sun, the flooding of the Nile or the primaeval flood, and, more broadly, renewal. The Wesekh-collar itself had a protective function, and is sometimes displayed on corn mummy coffins with hawk's head terminal.

2. Typological Considerations

Despite extensive research on corn mummies, it remains difficult to determine the date and provenance of many examples because of missing or inadequate excavation records.
Typological comparison may be helpful in such cases. The noteworthy typological aspects of the corn mummy in the Walters Art Museum are: (1) the wrappings with a separate mummification layer; (2) the beeswax attachment, comprising a face, an Atef-crown, and a divine beard, with details painted in green; (3) the presence of figurines of the Sons of Horus; (4) the black coffin with a small plinth; (5) the gilded face of the coffin, and (6) the absence of inscriptions or representations on the coffin.

The excavated parallels closest to this combination of characteristics are from Tehna el-Gebel, but most examples with this provenance have a yellow coffin (a few are black with yellow or white details) with a blue (rather than black) wig, and they carry texts and vignettes. The wrappings of the mummy figure are soaked with coating, and the mummies themselves are ithyphallic. A newly identified comparable group may originate from the Fayum region. It is characterized by a black coffin, a beeswax or gold mask, and an inscription with Pyramid Spell PT 368. Examples from Thebes (Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud) El Sheik Fadl, and Tehna el-Gebel differ markedly from the corn mummy at the Walters. However, neither the Tehna el-Gebel nor the so-called Fayum group seems to have sufficient points in common with IL.2004.15 to warrant classifying it in either of those two groups. Therefore, it seems likely that IL.2004.13 comes from another necropolis. Unfortunately, typological comparison does not help establish more precise dates because the comparative pieces themselves are not securely dated.

3. Style
The body of the corn mummy is a highly simplified form with areas corresponding to the head, torso, and legs rendered in balanced proportions. The wrappings are horizontally arranged, and what survives of the coating shows evidence of having been smoothed. The face of the beeswax attachment is round, with full cheeks and chin. The eyes have lids accentuated with color, long and slim eyeline extensions, as well as slightly downward-tilting inner corners. That the left eye of the figure is larger than the right one may be due to the instability of the wax and the repair of the horizontal crack. The long, color-accentuated brows begin high above the root of the nose and continue to the temples in a sloping line. The nose is small and has a slim bridge; the mouth is unpronounced with very slightly lifted corners. Green hatch lines, broadening toward the ears, define the beard straps; the beard itself is slender in comparison with the straps and has a green painted plait pattern. All green painted parts are defined by thin, black outlines (brows, lids, straps) or structure lines (beard). The center of the white painted Atef-crown is unusually large in comparison with the face and the broken-off, green-painted, flanking feathers. The head and shield of the cobra are raised in moderately high relief and flanked by a double loop winding of the body; the slender tail undulates very slightly to the top of the crown.

The proportions of the slender coffin are well balanced. The gilded, oval face of the hawk is in low relief, the brows and beak more prominent, and the circular outlines of the eyes executed in raised relief with a small incision representing the inner corners. The eyes and beak are painted black; the outer corners of the beak end in fine curved lines. The mustachial/postocular stripe combinations are painted in blue, with fine black outlines. The zigzag structures of the upper ends of the postocular stripes were painted free hand, possibly to give them a more natural appearance. The slightly raised, yellow borders of the wig are very regular, unlike the pattern of the collar between the lappets, which is a little more irregular, especially the alignment of the row dividers and the dot pattern.

PARALLELS
Some parallels to the corn mummy on loan to the Walters have been documented, as have three extremely close examples.

The first was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (acc. no. 2006.280, fig. 9). With the exception of recent changes in ownership, the provenance of the Houston corn mummy and coffin is unknown. From 1982 to 1995 the ensemble was in the Ernst Haas Collection and offered with Charles Ede Limited, London, in 1995. From 1995 to 2005 it was part of the Benson and Pamela Harer Collection in the United States and then offered by the Benson Harer Family Trust with Christie's New York, 9 December 2005, Sale 1691, Lot 25 (catalogue, 42–43). The Houston mummy-figure is made of mud, sand, grain, and linen, and has a beeswax mask, painted in green, white, and black, as well as a mummification coating. The coffin is carved wood, painted with black and yellow pigment, and partly gilded. The measurements of the coffin are as follows: length 48.9 cm, width 16.5 cm, and depth 14 cm. The height of the mummy is about 45–46 cm.

The second example belongs to the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin and is on long-term loan to the Poznan Archaeological Museum (fig. 10). The ensemble was discovered in storage at the Ägyptisches Museum, lacking an inventory number or other records of its entry into the collection. The provenance is thus unknown, as is the date of its entry. An x-radiograph of the mummy figure taken in 2000 indicates that it is composed of mud or sand and wrapped linen. No coatings or attachments are preserved on the mummy figure, but remains of a black resinous substance are visible on at the bottom of the case's interior. The exterior of the coffin is painted with black and yellow pigment and partially gilded; the length of the coffin is 49.5 cm and the width 16.8 cm; the height of the mummy is 42 cm.
The third example is a coffin of a corn mummy in the Staatliche Museen Kassel, inv. no. V125.41. The provenance of the coffin is unknown; it was purchased by the museum in 1991 from the German art dealer Roswita Eberwein. The wooden coffin is painted with black and yellow pigment and partially gilded. The length is 49.5 cm, the width 17 cm. The corn mummy itself has been lost; an ancient falcon mummy that occupies the case is a modern replacement.

The fourth example is in the Museum der Brotkultur, Ulm, inv. no. 0-755. The provenance of the coffins and corn mummy is unknown. The wooden coffin has a pitch coating and is decorated with yellow pigment; the hawk’s face is partially gilded. The mummy figure is formed of earth, grain, and linen; its face is covered by a dark beeswax mask with Atef-crown, Uraeus serpent, and divine beard. The length of the coffin is 48 cm, the width 18 cm.

Several obvious similarities and differences among these five coffins and the four corn mummy figures are evident. The size of all five coffins is nearly identical, as is the size of the three mummy figures (the Berlin / Poznan figure, at 42 cm, is slightly smaller than the other two). The material and techniques used, especially the coatings of the Baltimore and Houston mummy figures, appear to be very similar. The cases and lids of the five coffins each have six slots of similar size and placement for plugs to fit them together. The coffins are slender, with balanced proportions, and terminate in a small plinth. They are black, without inscriptions or vignettes, and the hawk faces are gilded. The style of the hawk faces is very similar, but the foreheads of the Berlin / Poznan and Baltimore examples are high and arched, whereas the Ulm and Kassel examples are flatter, and Houston has a superciliary arch (see fig. 11). While the mustachial / postocular stripes differ in color (blue or black), the shape (including the free-hand painted upper ends) is quite similar. The yellow collars between the yellow-rimmed lappets of the wigs vary slightly: The Baltimore and Ulm examples have eight rows; Houston and Berlin / Poznan, seven; and Kassel, five. The patterns are the same, but the sequence varies slightly, and only the Kassel example is missing the petal pattern in the bottom row. The three mummy figures are similarly shaped (none is ithyphallic) and the wrapping techniques are similar. The crown of the Baltimore and Houston corn mummies is large relative to the face. The shape and long tail of the Uraeus serpent of the Baltimore, Houston, and Ulm corn mummies are very similar, and the slender flanking feathers broken off. The iconography of the face and crown wax attachments is nearly the same; only the colors differ. While the face of the Houston figure is painted green with black accents, the face of the Baltimore example is unpainted with the exception of the green accents (fig. 12). Moreover, the style of the features in both masks is nearly identical, with the round face, small nose and mouth, brows beginning...
high above the base of the nose, eyelids accentuated with color, and long, slim eyeliner extensions. The only significant difference is the larger size of the wax mask in the Houston example, which covers not only the head but also part of the chest, while the mask of the figure at the Walters covers only the head and neck (possibly due to losses). The features of the wax corn mummy in Ulm differ slightly. The eyes and the mouth are larger than in the other examples. The face is painted black and the crown in its present state has a reddish cast. It is likely that it also was originally painted black.

The similarities between the corn mummies and their coffins strongly suggest that they were produced at the same time, in the same place, and by the same workshop. The correlation is even more likely given the differences between these examples as a group and other documented corn mummies.

**CONCLUSION**

The corn mummy IL.2004.13 and its falcon-form coffin were produced in ancient Egypt, and there is no evidence (either technical, material, or scholarly) to question the authenticity of the ensemble, even though the closest parallels are similarly bereft of excavation records. The ensemble and its direct parallels may come from a necropolis in Middle Egypt, given their similarities to excavated examples from Tehna el-Gebel, but they are not close enough to securely assign that as their place of origin. The different proportions, the lack of texts and vignettes on the coffins, and a slightly different mummification technique (rather than soaking the wrapping, the coating was applied to the upper layers of the wrappings) are essential arguments against assigning it to the two groups, although some of the differences may reflect a temporal distance in the dates of their production. However, one might also consider hypothetically a possible origin of the five examples in another important site in Middle Egypt: for example, Abydos, the center of the Osiris cult. Beginning in the Ramesside period (with the cenotaph of Sety I [d. 1279 B.C.]), Abydos was also an important ritual place for Sokar, as a chthonic deity, and in the Late Period an important place of pilgrimage for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The high quality of the Baltimore corn mummy/coffin ensemble makes a more prominent place of origin plausible. However, corn mummies with a yellow or golden décor and beeswax mask are also thought to have come from the Faiyum.

An exact dating of the ensembles must rely on typological and stylistic comparisons alone. The time frame for corn mummies in hawk-headed coffins extends from the late Third Intermediate Period to the Greco-Roman period, although the dating of both the earliest and the latest examples is a matter of some controversy. A more precise identification of the date and place of origin of each is hindered as well by the absence of inscriptions or vignettes, the inherent instability of the wax that composes the figures' face, and the dearth of stylistic research on Egyptian animal sculpture. Nevertheless, the slender profile of the coffin, the balanced proportions, and the muted colors preclude a late Ptolemaic or Roman date. The high quality of the gilded hawk face with its carefully modeled surface, and the human beeswax face with slim, less curved brows, pronounced eyelids, and long, slim eyeliner extensions are characteristic of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 B.C.), as are the Uraeus-snake's shape and very long tail with subtle undulations. However, the round face and the small unaccentuated mouth may point to a slightly later date.

One consistent and noteworthy feature of these corn mummy ensembles is the absence of inscriptions and vignettes on the coffins. Several possible explanations might account for this: (1) the figure, together with its coffin, was encased in an inscribed stone or pottery sarcophagus (as were several examples excavated in Tehna el-Gebel); (2) the coffin was unfinished, used for an unknown but urgent reason; (3) the burial of the corn mummy took place in a special part of the necropolis with a chapel or another monument that contained texts or images (or both). No conclusion as to
the most likely explanation among these, however, can be made without further information on the archaeological context of similar examples. What is certain is that these corn mummies had a ritual function and that they were part of the annual Khioa’k festival. They were made to ensure the regeneration of nature and the renewal of gods and mortals in the afterlife. Magic was part of the ritual, as was the corn mummy itself: a miraculous tool that guaranteed continued existence.

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NOTES

1. The female child mummy (IL.1990.28.3) is a long-term loan to the museum by Goucher College, Baltimore.


3. The term “corn” in Egyptology (as in English biblical usage) designates grain in general. Botanical analysis of a group of corn mummies in a Polish collection has identified the grain used as emmer or barley, which formed the basis of the most important foods of the Egyptians: bread and beer. See K. Wasylikova and A. Jankun, “Identification of Barley from the Ancient Egyptian Corn-mummies in the Archaeological Museum in Cracow,” Materialy Archeologiczne 30 (1997): 13–15.

4. Similar terms are used in French and German: “Osiris figurine,” “pseudo-momie d’Osiris,” “Osiris végétant” (Fr.); “Kornmumie,” “Osirismumie” (Ger.), etc. See C. Seeber, “Kornosiris,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., Lexikon der Ägyptologie 3 (Wiesbaden, 1980), 744–45; M.J. Raven, “Corn-Mummies,” Oudheidkundige mededelingen 63 (1982): 7–38; M.C. Centrone, “Behind the Corn Mummy,” Current Research in Egyptology 2003, ed. K. Piquette and S. Love (Oxford, 2005), 11. Although a variety of these pseudo-mummies are documented, others have been misidentified as genuine animal or child mummies.

5. This differs from the two-dimensional so-called Osiris beds placed in New Kingdom royal tombs. Raven, “Corn Mummies,” 12–15. Compartmented pottery vessels used for the “ritual sprouting” of grain were likely Middle Kingdom precursors to corn mummies. See Centrone, “Behind the Corn Mummy,” 24–25 (with references).


9. The vignettes on the coffin of Djed-Bast-iu-ef-ankh (Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeumuseum, inv. no. 1954 (see B. Schmitz, “Sarg des Djed-Bast-iu-ef-ankh,” in A. Eggbrecht, ed., Suche nach Unsterblichkeit [Hildesheim and Mainz, 1990], 28–29, no. T1) display the mummmification process in several stages, including the motif of the germinated corn mummy. Additionally, the foot of the coffin shows two scenes, one with the figure of Sokar (mummiform with hawk head) and one of Khenti-Imen-tu (Osiris, hominin with a feather crown), created during the Khioa’k festival and mentioned in the mystery text in the roof chapels of the Dendera temple.


12. Stated in a letter of 15 July 2006 from the present owner to the museum.


14. The coating on the very similar corn mummy in the Museum of Fine Arts Houston (acc. no. 2006.280, see infra) is intact and conveys an idea of the original appearance of that layer.

Fig. 12. Face-and-crown attachments of the Baltimore (left) and Houston (right) corn mummies
15. Meg Craft, senior object conservator at the Walters Art Museum, and Jennifer Giacca, conservation scientist, were responsible for the technical analysis of the object as well as its conservation treatment in 2005, and generously shared their findings with me.

16. The scan was undertaken in March 2008 at the University of Maryland School of Medicine, Department of Diagnostic Radiology. I am grateful to Barry D. Daly, M.D., professor of diagnostic radiology, F.R.C.R., who made this examination possible.

17. “Iconic” here designates a standardized image with specific meaning.

18. Remains of the feathers with blue-green paint are still visible on both sides of the crown; part of a feather is located above the head of the mummy-figure between fragments of linen wrappings and the resin layer. See fig. 4.


21. The mummy's fragility makes it impossible to remove the resin layer and the figure from the coffin. X-radiographic and computed tomography imaging (figs. 7a, b) shows only the shadow of the figure, but it is clearly placed on the back or front of the mummy, not on the side. The slenderess of the upper section suggests that the figure has the head of a hawk, not a baboon.

22. For example, Pyramid Texts, Pyr. 1983e.

23. For example, Pyramid Texts, Pyr. 1333e; Book of the Dead, chap. 137A, 22–30.


32. Raven, "A New Type of Osiris Burial," 231–39. The Sokar figure is mentioned only in the text; there is no archaeological evidence. Therefore it is possible that the "Sokar figure" represents the outer form of the corn mummy's coffin.


39. For less similar examples, which may come from the same source, see B. Gesler-Löhr, "Das Tier in Religion und Kunst des Alten Ägypten," in Antiken Welt 22 no. 1 (1991), 60 (special exhibition at the Ibis Gallery, New York, March 1991); and a coffin formerly in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 2001.547.1–2 (William Stevenson Smith Fund; deaccessioned). For further references on comparable coffins and ensembles, see A. Felgenhauer, Ägyptisches und Ägyptisierende Kunstwerke: Vollständiger Katalog (Kassel, 1995), 192.


41. The ensemble is published by A. Ćwiek, Śmierć i Życie w Starożytnym Egipcie (Poznan, 2006), 60–61, fig. 79. The length of the coffin as described in the publication (52 cm) should be amended to read 49.5 cm. I thank Dr. Ćwiek for his kind assistance and further information.

42. See Felgenhauer, Ägyptisches und Ägyptisierende Kunstwerke, 189–92, figs. 89a, b.


44. These similarities are the single wax attachment with unitary face, Atef-crown, incorporated beard, the black coffin, and the gilded hawk face.

45. U. Fritz, "Kornmumien aus dem Fayum? Ein Kornosiris in falken-förmigem Holzsarkophag (Tübingen Inv. 1853a, b, c)," Göttinger Miszellen 1 (1991), 60 (special exhibition at the Ibis Gallery, New York, 1991); and a coffin formerly in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 2001.547.1–2 (William Stevenson Smith Fund; deaccessioned). For further references on comparable coffins and ensembles, see A. Felgenhauer, Ägyptisches und Ägyptisierende Kunstwerke, 189–92, figs. 89a, b.

46. For comparison with the head of an Osiris-figure, see B. V. Bothmer et al., Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100 (New York, 1961), 57, no. 50, pl. 46, figs. 112 and 113.


PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin: fig. 10; Christie's Images: fig. 9; Roemer- und Pelizaeusmuseum, Hildesheim: fig. 1; University of Maryland, School of Medicine, Department of Diagnostic Radiology: fig. 7b; R. Schulz: fig. 8; Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b; Walters Art Museum, Conservation Division: fig. 7a